2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

224 423 Now that cattle raising has taken the place of hunting, its arrangements are very similar. A village unit uses the neighboring range as it formerly used the hunting grounds but the range has no definite limits and no objection is made if the cattle of other units are found there. A few families have accumulated enough cattle so that their ownership ranks as a business, managed on modern lines. Many, however, sell only two or three head a year to local buyers and butcher about as many for the family as they formerly butchered deer. They distribute gifts of beef just as they once distributed venision.[1]

FOOD GIFTS

431 Food was the currency of the Papago economic system. Small gifts of it were continually passing within the intimate family group, and penetrating now and then to further connections. We have described under kin behavior the frequent interchange of cooked food within the geographic unit. There was no particular rule as to quantity. One family gave two large wooden spoonfuls to every household at every meal; another, cooked for each meal, a four gallon pot and distributed it all, sometimes leaving nothing for the home household which subsisted on gifts. Other households sent gifts only once or twice a week or when they had something unusual. The ratio of giving was determined by custom with each group as the elaborateness of Christmas gifts might be determined in a White family. But it was kept up regularly, each gift being reciprocated with a like amount.

431 484 Gifts made to more distant kin were generally at the time of harvest but there was an exception when kin came to visit. People travelling through a village made the home of any relative their stopping place and then they were not only fed but given cloth, buckskins, beads or anything the family had. It was a sort of insurance which made it safe for the host family to travel in their turn for there was a strong feeling that land outside one's own village unit was dangerous ground.

736 [554] Besides the gifts which cemented relatives together, the Papago had a system of charity. Although they did not feature generosity as did certain Plains Indians it was a highly appreciated virtue and a man known to practice it had a high status in the community. No one was ever rich and the little extra that any family could accumulate was better invested in good will than kept. Most dependents were cared for by their family groups but in the unusual case that

[1] This section was written before the new regulations for cattle raising were instituted by the U. S. government.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

someone was hungry while there was food in the village, he had only to sit outside a house where people were eating. It was bad manners to ask for food but equally bad to fail to offer it. One informant objected to having any house too near her own because "they will see us eat and we will have to send them something." If the hungry person owed his trouble to laziness or a stupid wife, he would be talked about and shamed into reform.

Occasionally, disaster overtook a whole family through illness or enemy raids and then it was the responsibility of the village to take care of the sufferers, the most generous man getting the most credit. It is safe to say that no one ever went hungry while there was food in the village for farmers, food gatherers and hunters would all share with him. No definite return was expected except general respect and good will but "if a person got the name of being stingy, he always had a hard time. Even his relatives didn't help him more then they had to" (26).

Papago gift basket.
Quantities are measured by the lines parallel to the basket rim.

In the constant interchange of gifts, certain equivalents had been worked out. The usual container was a basket bowl with a black pattern involving many lines parallel to the rim. A person receiving such a basket would note to what line the corn or beans reached and then fill it to the same point for the return gift. To fill it even higher was an act of virtue but to fill it short of the line was to commit social suicide. The bowls were made in two or three standard sizes so that almost any bowl formed a rough measure. The women's carrying nets were also about the same size with patterns which served for markers. One carrying net was equal to two ordinary basket bowls. There was a rough understanding as to the number of squash or jars of cactus syrup which equaled these measures for corn and beans.

TRADE

Such measures were always kept in mind in the exchange with non-relatives. It was not trade in the full sense, for there was no